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Fantan was obviously distressed by the situation but insisted on working with me each day, saying there was nothing he could do at home. When finally wailing was heard from the direction of his house, he knew the child had died. He went home immediately, but it was not considered good form for him to enter the house crowded with wailing women. At last a neighbor went in, took the dead child from its mother's arms, and hurried off alone to bury it in a near-by field. At this point Fantan put his head down on his knees and broke out into hard dry sobs, which he tried to suppress. Weeping is considered unmanly by the culture and therefore he had less outlet than his wife, of whom wailing was expected. Characteristically enough, however, Fantan was able to transform his grief into anger almost immediately, for at that moment a friend arrived to report that his brother-in-law had just killed one of his penned pigs in order to force him to give a death feast, an expense quite unwarranted for so young a child. Fantan said as he started toward his pigpen, "I have had enough expenses. Why should my brother-in-law kill my pig, since he didn't even come to be with his sister when her child died?"

115 513 [576] [766] 115 152 [607]

DESCENT FROM THE HOUSE

Four to six days after the birth the first descent of the mother and child into the outside world is marked by a trivial ceremony in which a few neighboring kinswomen may assist. The maternal grandmother, or some surrogate, plants sweet potatoes and piles stones near the house verandah. The plants and stones may be represented by weeds nd pebbles. By this act she releases both the mother and the father from the restrictions on vigorous labor. A few other precautionary measures may be taken, all within the range of sympathetic magic. The mother then leaves the house and is bathed for the first time since giving birth. Tubesful of water are poured over her back, arms, and legs. That afternoon the father gives a small feast to repay the wife's kin for their contributions and services. For a few more days the mother is inclined to stay near the house and perform only the easier household tasks.

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The descent from the house marks the beginning of a wider diet for the child. At this time premasticated roasted bananas and vegetable gruels are added to breast feeding. The gruel is poured into the mouth from a coconut-shell spoon. The premasticated bananas are given the infant either with the hand or directly from the adult's mouth.

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At this time, too, the infant's contacts expand. He begins to be a center of interest and is passed from hand to hand. Everyone seems entranced by small babies and many people will ask to hold and fondle

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wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual interests were minimal.

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously physical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct expression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair combing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness.

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own business, is careless of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggressive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are referred to admiringly as men-women (*neng-mayoa*). Men with poor memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial errands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gardening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as women-men (*mayoa-neng*). Women usually speak with praise of a man who is skillful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, therefore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property ownership, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the fact.

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a large number of its members from successfully achieving the desired goal, we have the problem of discovering which people are disfranchised and what compensatory roles they may play. In Atimelang, as in many other cultures, the female half of the population is debarred from cultural goals on a sex basis; women must either break with the cultural tradition, surrender any claim to the major prestige rewards of their culture, or derive it vicariously through aligning themselves with a successful male.

This last device may apply to groups of males also, as among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, where a sib functions as a unit feeding the prestige activities of a titular head. In other societies with structuralized rank or with castes, large parts of the population are given restricted status positions that remove them from any competitive effort for prestige. In Atimelang it is assumed that all males will enter the competitive system. In fact, every man is practically forced into it if he is to marry and if he is to retain his health by placating in death feasts the potential malignancy of dead kin.

Overtly no differences in wealth are allowed for in middle age. Every middle-aged man who is married, has given a feast, or been associated with any transaction amounting to about one hundred dollars is called a rich man (*kafakai*). There are no formal terms for degrees of wealth, except by adding an intensifier, *berka*, meaning in this case "powerful," "potent," although, significantly enough, the more usual meaning is "bad." It is not customary to use this term, however, unless one wishes to flatter a man. Conversely the most bitter insult is to call a man "poor." Actually there seems to be no simple word meaning poor. One can say, "He has nothing" (*nala hopa naha*), or one can say, "Setang," meaning worthless, of no account. This, incidentally, is a term of reproach that is very frequently shouted at troublesome and naughty children.

The system of making no overt, outspoken distinctions in respect to wealth is carried even further. It will be recalled that an expression of opinion about physical appearance was hard to get. The same applied to all kinds of derogatory or flattering distinctions. It was just as difficult to procure a social judgment about a man's industry, his honesty, or his skill in craftsmanship. Good manners require that everyone, verbally at least, be granted an equal ranking even in the face of glaring discrepancies. When I discussed the matter with a young man, he said, "If anyone heard that I had said he was less rich, less industrious, or less handsome, he would be ashamed and would want to fight with me. He would be angry." Linguistically there is an interesting correlate of

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this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for modifiers. There are only intensifiers.

This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a considerable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token" (*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.

All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers. Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atimelangers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation, shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern, as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame produces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive quality.

That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of suicide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of danger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of expressing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains. The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

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578 cant, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were
602 between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more remote affinal relatives.

152 In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelanger lose his temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very powerful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Also, it may be attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat with his opponents and the judge.

154 There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that
535 help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances (*dokak*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengdema*) between young men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary feints and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general gravity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form and cause for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually hastens to apologize.

Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages. The degree to which this dance contest is really a hostile act is evident from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato fashion used in times of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although fortitude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

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retorted that Djetmani would die the day that the lamp was broken and then added that he for one would be pleased to have it smashed immediately. To wish a person's death is one of the more deadly insults. Djetmani pointed his finger at Maugata and said that he would strike him were he a grown man, but after all Maugata was just an unmarried boy. Maugata at this point ran up so close to Djetmani, daring him to strike, that Djetmani's finger entered Maugata's eye. Maugata, who was now practically beside himself, shouted, "Why don't you pay for your mother's shroud? Why don't you give any feasts?" This referred to the fact that, about twenty years before, Maugata's father had furnished half a piece of cloth as a burial shroud for Djetmani's mother, and Djetmani, a man of about thirty with two wives, had not yet given any payoff death feasts.

As usual there had been nothing quiet or subdued about this quarrel. The exchange of insults had echoed through the whole valley and had attracted the guests at the all-night dance up on the knoll. Maugata's maternal uncle had joined the crowd that surrounded the fighters. When Maugata's last insult was delivered, his uncle suddenly lost his temper, berated him for quarreling and for his lack of restraint, and then hit him so hard over the left eye with a rattan club that the boy was stunned. Maugata, when he was brought to my house for medication, was quite obviously making the most of his injury. Meanwhile calmer neutrals had interfered, and the chief ordered both of the men to appear for a trial at sunrise when the dance ended.

The uncle and Djetmani danced all night, but Maugata went home and for at least three hours I heard his mother berate him in a voice audible to neighbors and passers-by. At the trial in the morning each in turn told his version of the quarrel. The uncle admitted that he had been at fault — not, however, in striking his nephew, but in striking him on the head. He had already paid his nephew a fine of seven and a half cents. The uncle was then dismissed. Djetmani in telling his tale became more and more despondent. He ended with the comment, "I have been made ashamed. I'll pay back that piece of cloth right now."

This immediately precipitated a general discussion about the relative value of the shroud and the piece of cloth that Djetmani was planning to cut in half by way of repayment. The cloth was brought, examined, and then finally accepted as an equivalent. The chief cut it in two and handed Maugata half. Djetmani got up and walked away crying. Maugata's mother was in tears and Maugata, looking very sullen and angry, was surreptitiously wiping his eyes. The next day Djetmani began the preliminary sacrifices involved in a payoff ceremony. This he was able

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manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in mokos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

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X159 People gathered
mango pits and soaked them for three days, then we ate them pounded
[252] up or whole. We took banana stalks and roots and mixed them with mango seeds to make the death feasts. One time Fanlang and Lanpada went to buy sweet potatoes, cassava, and corn at Fuifoka near Kelaisi. They took knife blades, necklaces, and anklets with them to buy food. They bought the whole cassava plant—leaves, stalk, and roots. For a knife blade they got only two or three cents' worth of corn or cassava. For a big necklace they got just ten small ears of corn. Many people had to share just a little corn mixed with many greens. When the men came home, they said, "Now we are hungry, and there are many people sick because of it. Save seeds and plant the cassava stalks." We cut the cassava stalks and the sweet potatoes into small pieces for planting. We
[241] planted cassava stalks and sweet potatoes, and as soon as they were large enough we cut more shoots for planting. We kept planting corn too until there was much of all foods and people were filled up again.

[I asked how she herself reacted to this.] During this time mother wanted to cut weeds at Raugfui. Before she left she cooked some corn and put it in a basket for me. She said that she and Kawaimani were going to cut weeds and that I must stay behind. I said, "I had better go too because people will come and deceive me and eat my corn." But mother said, "Oh, if people come and deceive you, your father [Manimai, really her uncle] is a killer and he will come and kill them. You stay. Kawaimani and I will go cut the weeds." When mother left, all my playmates came to play with me. [Question. She was staying at the time with Manimai and his large family. Although the family with
[574 whom she was staying would have fed her, her mother said it was
● 576] proper during a hungry time, or at any other time, to leave food for a child with the host's family.] While we played, we talked of the cat's coming. [Here she repeated the children's story of the cat's coming
[857 nearer and nearer. She gave all the place names from Likuwatang to
538] Atimelang until the cat entered the house and the children screamed. This was a favorite scare story for children. Lomani had heard it first from her mother, but this time the story was being told by Marata, an older girl. Question.] I was not really afraid of the story; I just pretended to be frightened.

[I asked whether she remembered being very sick. This was an attempt to get the story of her badly scarred mouth.]

When I was small I wasn't sick. I got sick after I married, when my husband was already dead and my child was still small. I wanted to come back here, but my mother-in-law said, "No. I am your mother